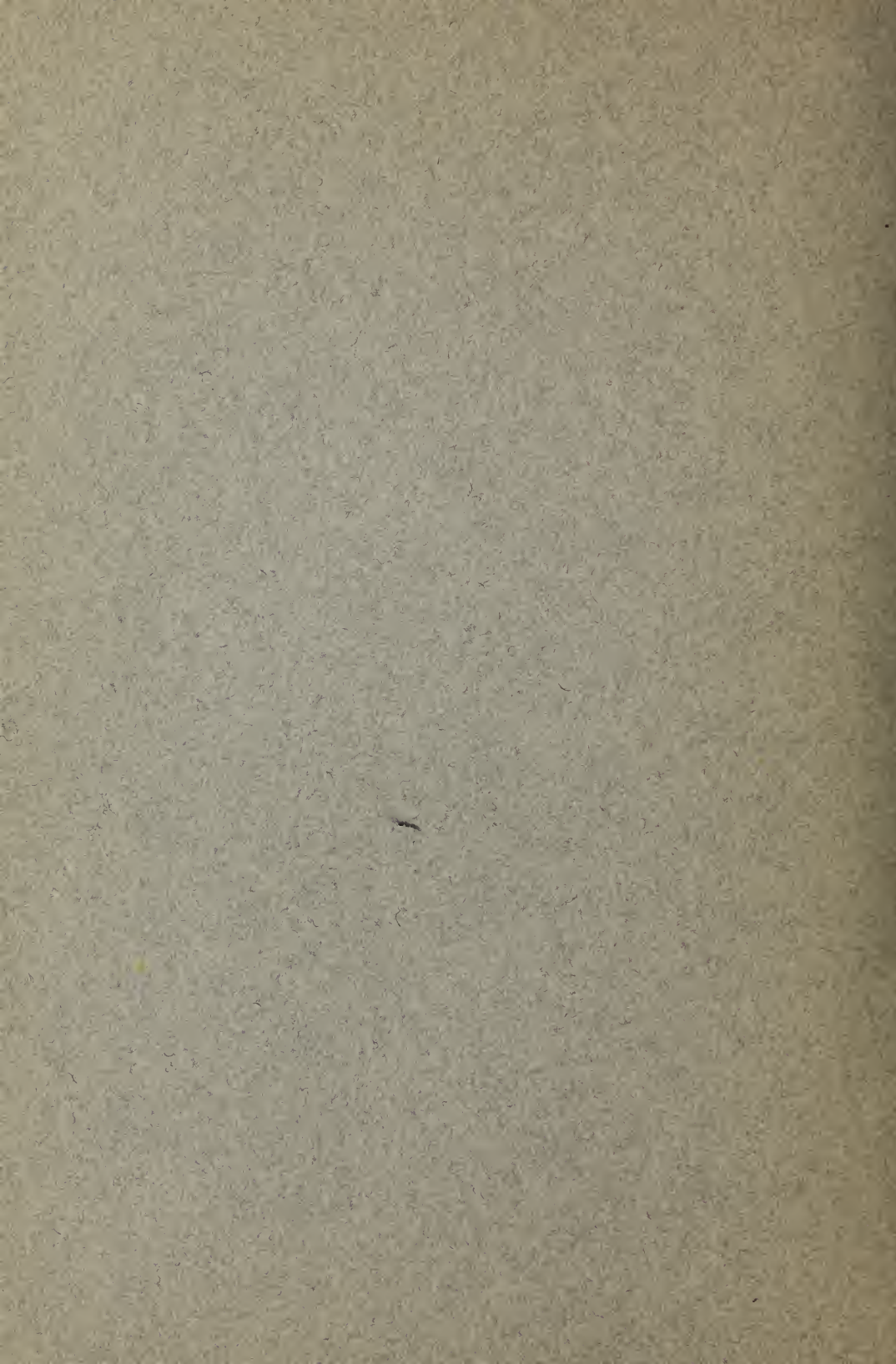

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**A POLITICAL PROPHECY OF THE FORTY-
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A POLITICAL PROPHECY OF THE FORTY-EIGHTERS IN AMERICA

BY JULIUS GOEBEL, JR., UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

I.

Political prophecy is a term which occurs not infrequently in the historical literature of Germany, where it has a distinct meaning. While, in English, the word prophecy still seems to be confined chiefly to the religious sphere where it originated, in Germany it is applied also to the highest interest of a people, namely its national destiny.

A political prophecy of this kind, I venture to call *The New Rome*, by Charles Goepp and Theodor Poesche, published in 1853, of which this paper is to treat. It was thru this book that the American people, as contemporary reviews show, for the first time should become aware of the great influence which national prophets may exert, not only upon the intellectual and moral life of a great nation, but also upon its political ideals.

The question naturally arises here as to what the real nature of prophecy is, when freed of its biblical connotation. Rudolph Hildebrand, the eminent German philologist, in a paper entitled *Prophezeiungen* defines it as follows:

„Es giebt in allen menschlichen Verhältnissen, die als Ganzes in arbeitender Bewegung sind, einen Punkt oder eine Linie, wo die eigentliche treibende Kraft wohnt, und trifft man in glücklicher Stunde mit seinem Denken und Fühlen in diesen Punkt, so kann man den noch nicht gegebenen Fortgang der Bewegung des Ganzen im voraus sehen, soweit nicht äußere, unberechenbare Störungen ihn hemmen; man sieht die Linie entlang, die noch nicht da ist und doch in den Verhältnissen schon mit gegeben. In diesem Sinne wird denn auch noch täglich prophezeit, im kleinen wie im großen Leben.“¹

It is for this reason that we often speak of poets as prophets. A glance at the history of Germany will show, moreover,

¹ Hildebrand, *Tagebuchblätter*, p. 218.

that in times of great national disaster or crises there arise men who, even more than the poets, fulfill the mission of national prophets. At such times of national calamity, men like Fichte will step forth and will give solace by looking out beyond the present vicissitudes into the future. Thru four hundred years of German history, and even earlier, we meet with men of the prophet type proclaiming national unity, national regeneration and final world dominion of Germany. In the earliest times these prophecies crystalized about the person of single heroes, such as Frederick Barbarossa. The German people had felt that with his death the glory of the empire was past, and certain folk legends grew up concerning the mountain Kyffhäuser, where he was pictured as sleeping until the time was ripe for him to return and restore the pristine glory of the empire. These local legends gradually spread until in the beginning of the fifteenth century they had become national traditions. The *Friedrichsage* lived until the time of the Franco-Prussian war, and its influence upon German leaders not only of the Middle Ages, but also of modern times can easily be discerned.

Another hero in whom the national hopes and aspirations of the German people became embodied was Arminius. Again and again we find him the subject of German epics and dramas, the most notable of which was Kleist's *Hermannschlacht*. It is with the coming of Goethe and Schiller, and still later of Fichte, that national prophecy assumes its loftiest character in Germany. Goethe's *Epimenides* and Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* are proof how these poets who had striven so long for the intellectual supremacy of their country also realized the full significance of the national political movement. And it was by his inspiring *Reden an die Deutsche Nation*, that Fichte aroused his people to shake off the shackles of the tyrant Napoleon.

I have already said that these national prophets promise not only national unity and regeneration, but also the formation of a new and more powerful world empire. We find that prophecies of this sort originate during and after the decline of the Holy Roman Empire. They are very significant in that

they show how deeply rooted was the conception of a great and all-embracing world federation. It is known how this phantom of an empire, rivalling that of ancient Rome, held the mediæval world with an almost uncanny fascination. To this illusion was due in no small degree the unhappy fate of Germany for so many centuries.

A most remarkable prophecy of a future German world empire differing from the old Holy Roman Empire appears e. g. as early as 1669, in a chapter of the book *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus*, by Christoph von Grimmelshausen.¹ In this tale, a half-witted fellow who imagines himself to be the God Jupiter, gives expression to some very lofty and noble ideas. He proposes in his capacity of a god to bring into existence a German hero who shall go forth and subdue the evil and help the good. England, Sweden, and Denmark, Spain, France, and Portugal will all come under the dominion of this hero (the incarnation perhaps, of Frederick Barbarossa) and through a parliament of the wise men of these countries he will ameliorate the conditions of the poor by abolishing all taxes. Absolute equality and freedom of religion will characterize his kingdom. Such in brief is the outline of the world empire of the half-witted fool.

During the eighteenth century which marks the lowest ebb of national patriotism in German political history, we find the idea of a future political empire almost forgotten. In its stead arise the conceptions of German intellectual supremacy and of a cosmopolitanism independent of state. It is very interesting to note that, while this latter conception takes a firm hold upon continental Europe; in England it is of practically no influence.²

Strange as it may seem, it is in France where the idea of cosmopolitanism first originates and takes a strong hold upon the intellectual life. From France the idea spread to Ger-

¹ Grimmelshausen, *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* (Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, v. 26), Bk. III, c. 4 & 5, p. 209 et sq.

² This is but natural, for in a firmly established state with a pronounced sense of nationality, such as England, the vague political ideas of cosmopolitanism could find little favor.

many where it was heartily welcomed by that politically disorganized country. The spread of this idea and its influence in Europe is easily explained by the fact that French influence and culture were dominant in the intellectual world as well as in political spheres. With the passing of the eighteenth century the original conception of cosmopolitanism is gradually forgotten, on account of the revolution in France. From this time forth until the time of Napoleon III's *coup d'état* in 1852, France comes to be regarded as the leader of republicanism, a republicanism, to be sure, which to a certain extent, is cosmopolitan in character. France becomes now a haven of refuge for the political exiles not only of Germany, but also of Italy and Poland. The July revolution in 1830 immediately caused the republicans in Germany and Italy to break forth in open rebellion. A similar effect was produced by the Revolution of 1848.

After the quelling of this latter rebellion in Germany, hundreds of its leaders and their followers, filled with republican aspirations and subconscious reminiscences of former prophecies of a future world dominion, emigrated to France and Switzerland, where they seemed to find for a short time the realization of their hopes of a republic.

With the rise of Napoleon III it soon became evident to the refugees that their presence in France and even in Switzerland was not desired. In many cases they were summarily ordered to depart.¹ The *coup d'état* in December, 1851, absolutely shattered their hopes of a cosmopolitan republic in Europe. Although a great many of the exiles turned to England, yet the majority, and especially the radicals among them, decided to emigrate to the United States, which, in their opinion, was the only remaining republic in the world. Hopes of making Germany a republic were dashed to the ground. It is only in the light of their republican ideas that we can rightly judge the seemingly traitorous propaganda against Germany carried on by the Radicals in this country and as it found expression in *The New Rome*. To most of

¹ Rattermann, Article on C. Esselen, contained in this volume.

the forty-eighters the German *Nationalstaat*¹ meant a democratic state more or less after the pattern of the French republic, and to realize their ideal, they believed themselves justified in using every possible means.

II.

We have seen in the above, the many and various influences which helped to shape the intellectual development and the political thinking of the German liberals and how these forces culminated in the successive revolutions of 1821, 1830, and 1848, when thousands of patriotic men forced into exile, sacrificed their homes and their future for the sake of their political ideals. Let us now consider the nature of the movement of the forty-eighters in America, and the men who led it.

The emigration of the German political refugees to America began in the twenties of the nineteenth century, when the persecution of the demagogues which followed the Carlsbad Decrees drove a number of promising and highly intelligent men to this country. The most conspicuous of these men was Karl Follen,² who later became one of the principal leaders of the Abolitionists. On the whole, however, the exodus of the political refugees in the twenties was insignificant compared with the emigration which set in after 1830, following the various disturbances and revolutions in Europe of that year. Thousands of German citizens came to the United States during this period. The majority of them hailed from the principalities along the Rhine, such as Nassau and Hessen, and many of them settled in the newly opened lands of Missouri and western Illinois.³ But the great tide of immigration was still to come.

It was the Revolution of 1848 that brought literally hundreds of thousands of immigrants to this country, among whom there were men of the highest intellectual and social position. In contrast, however, to the immigrants from France, Italy and Hungary, who were for the most part aristocrats, the

¹ Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, p. 17.

² Kapp, *Aus und Über Amerika*, v. I, p. 309.

³ *Ibid.*

German settlers were democratic in character as was the entire political movement which had carried them to this country.

The German is by no means clannish, and whatever recognition he wins, he may ascribe to individual effort. The forty-eighters had an especially difficult task in winning recognition in the United States and their troubles were increased by the fact that many of their countrymen who had settled in America previous to them did not sympathize either with their ideals or their political aspirations. Consequently there arose between the two groups a great bitterness especially in political matters.¹ The earlier immigrants immediately dubbed the newcomers "Greenhorns," a term which was shortened to "Greens," while the latter retorted by calling their opponents the "Grays," as expressive of what they believed to be their musty and antiquated ideas.

In order to understand fully the feeling of antagonism between these opposing parties, it is necessary to consider briefly the doctrines and ideals of the forty-eighters. The typical forty-eighter was at the same time a radical and an idealist. Unable to carry out his revolutionary propaganda in Europe, upon his arrival in America, he transferred his program bodily to this country. America, from the beginning of the eighteenth century had been glorified in Germany as the land of freedom, and nothing could equal the disappointment of the refugee upon finding that this land of the free fostered one of the most abominable of human institutions. The fire of his wrath he now turned from the European despots to the American slave-holder. At the same time he keenly felt the necessity of a national regeneration if the American republic was to be saved from destruction.² Thousands of exiles who otherwise would have wasted their energies or come to ruin in this country became useful and influential citizens by finding a field for their activities in the abolition movement.³

¹ Koerner, *Memoirs*, v. I, p. 549.

² Heinzen, *Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika*, *Neue Folge*, v. 2, p. 638, also Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkriege*, p. 104.

³ Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, v. I, p. 312.

No better example of this can be found than Karl Heinzen, the eminent Boston journalist and political thinker. Heinzen had been one of the foremost leaders of the revolutionary movement in Germany. Although exiled he had returned from New York to take part in the uprising in Baden. After the failure of this rebellion he fled again to New York and entered upon various journalistic ventures, during which he took a prominent part in politics. He finally settled in Boston and edited *Der Pionier*, the famous periodical, in which he gave utterance to his political program. It is interesting to note that this program differs but little from the radical program which he had previously advanced as a leader of the revolutionary party in Germany.¹ A comparison of these two programs may not be out of place as it will aid us in obtaining a better insight into the real nature of the movement.

PROGRAM OF THE GERMAN
REVOLUTIONARY PARTY ²

1. Germany to be an indivisible union.

2. Administration to be by the people themselves through a single chamber of deputies, and a ministry dependent on the majority in the house.

3. Common and direct franchise to all, with exception of prisoners and inmates of insane asylums.

4. Freedom of speech, press, teaching and assembly.

5. Abolition of the stand-

PROGRAM OF THE RADICALS
IN THE UNITED STATES ³

1. Total abolition of the presidency and of the office of state governor, and of the system of two houses; and the conversion of the federative republic into a republic one and indivisible.

2. Representatives subject to recall by their constituents at any time.⁴

¹ Friedrich Hassaurek had a still more radical and anarchistic program.

² Heinzen, *Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika*, Neue Folge, v. 2, p. 638.

³ I have taken this from Koerner, *Memoirs*, v. I, p. 566. I have amended certain passages where Koerner's English was too unidiomatic.

⁴ Compare this with the present recall which we have in several states.

ing army and the establishment of a militia system.

6. Guaranty of jury trial in both civil and criminal cases.

7. Administrative appointments to be confirmed by the chamber of deputies.

8. Intervention of Germany in favor of republican governments. The establishment of a congress of peoples and of a European tribunal in place of the existing diplomatic system.¹

9. Abolition of feudalism and feudal dues.²

10. (Deals with the regulation of taxes).

11. Ownership of land to be regulated by the state.

12. Those incapable of laboring shall be assisted, and work secured for those who are able to work.

13. Establishment of a general public school system.

14. Establishment of a free postal system.

15. The state shall provide for free places of amusement and recreation for the people.

16. E m a n c i p a t i o n of women.

3. Abolition of the policy of neutrality. The United States to intervene against intervention as practiced in Europe. Instant abolition of slavery.

4. All lands to be free and the poor settler to be assisted by the state.

5. No man to own more land than the state allows.

6. In all German schools, German teachers to be employed.

7. Establishment of a German university at the expense of the government.

¹ Compare this with the present peace movement and the Hague Tribunal.

² There were still relics of feudalism in Germany at this time in the form of tithes, "Frondienst," etc.

17. Abolition of the penal system and of capital punishment.

18. Absolute freedom of religion. Church property to revert to the state.¹

8. Abolition of penitentiaries. They shall be transformed into houses of reform.

9. The government shall own all railroads. The railroad to the Pacific shall be built at the cost of the state.

10. No official position to be allowed persons dependent on the Pope.

In a certain sense, this program of Heinzen's may be called prophetic,—and, while at that time it may have seemed visionary and even ridiculous,² nevertheless, many of the reforms proposed have since been carried out or are at present being advocated by such men as W. J. Bryan and Theodore Roosevelt. Heinzen, like many another reformer, was some fifty years in advance of his contemporaries.

It was inevitable that men like Heinzen who had played so prominent a role in European politics, should exercise a powerful influence upon the political attitude of their countrymen in America. Yet, in spite of their patriotic activity, they were at first not only underestimated as a group, but their individual efforts were seldom recognized. Adhering too rigidly to their principles and hence despising the common American practice of compromise, it was impossible for them to be popular with the practical politicians of their time.³ In addition to this fact they were convinced that the unscrupulousness and corruption of American political life was bound to undermine the very foundations of the republic, and they strove against this with might and main. Up to this time the German immigration had attached itself almost exclusively to the Democratic party,⁴ and even as late

¹ I have omitted certain sections which bore no relation whatever to the American program of the radicals.

² Koerner, *Memoirs*, v. I, p. 566.

³ Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, v. I, p. 314.

⁴ Von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, v. V, p. 159.

as 1850 it was considered a sort of heresy not to belong to it. Nevertheless, the Germans occupied an almost despicable position in this party. In fact, they were universally known as "voting cattle."¹ Nothing but the poorest offices, such as remote consulates, or post-offices, were given them, and in every respect their relation to the political leaders was that of servant to master. Even the German press in this country was on the side of the political bosses, and looked up to them with a sort of reverential awe. Imagine the effect of the merciless criticism, the result of the high ethical standards, which Heinzen and Esselen in their journals and publications directed against these political conditions and their advocates, the unscrupulous and corrupt politicians. Little wonder that the reformers met with tremendous opposition not only among the older generation of their countrymen but also among the American politicians who soon came to feel the force of the new ideals.

American materialism and German idealism were now brought into direct and sharp conflict. To be sure, in the end, German idealism was to triumph, but the bitterness of feeling on the part of the American politicians found its expression in the notorious Know Nothing movement, one of the most disgraceful chapters in the history of American politics.

The Know Nothing Party, also known as the Nativist and as the American Party, made its first appearance in the year 1854, although it had come into existence some time previous. Its first victory was won in Salem, Massachusetts in January, 1854, when a candidate who had not been publicly nominated was elected. Similar occurrences took place in rapid succession in other and larger cities. For a long time the origin and creed of this conspiracy against the foreigner were unknown,² and the great parties found themselves confronted by a secret and mysterious foe which they had to combat. The

¹ Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, v. I, p. 317.

² Woodburn, *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States*, p. 84 says that their motto was the words attributed to Washington: "Put none but Americans on guard tonight."

one clew to the purpose of their activities was that their policy was clearly nativistic, anti-Irish in the North especially in New York, and anti-German in the South and West. Two parts of their program were particularly significant: public offices should be filled by native Americans only, and naturalization should be allowed only after four years of residence in this country.¹ The programs of the German radicals were seized upon with avidity by the Know Nothings, and, as Von Holst expresses it, were used as heavy artillery in their warfare.² In December, 1854, Senator Adams of Mississippi, brought forward a bill to amend the naturalization laws so that naturalization would be granted only after twenty-one years residence in this country.³ This bill, although it was never passed, indicated that while the movement in the North was directed chiefly against the Irish and the Catholics, and to a certain extent was inspired by patriotic motives, the nativists in the South saw in the Germans an antislavery element too dangerous to be tolerated.

The Know Nothing Party was of short duration, for once its secret was out its decline was rapid. Its members inspired fear only as long as they fought invisibly.⁴ A movement of this sort in the face of the overwhelming number of immigrants and citizens of foreign descent was doomed to failure. Its champions could not point to a time when this country began to be purely American and ceased to be European to a certain extent, or when it had ever been anything but a republic of immigrants.⁵ The national victory of the Know Nothings might easily have meant the fall of this republic. The direction of the movement against the Germans was another evidence, moreover, of the ignorance of its lead-

¹ Von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, vol. V, p. 81.

² *Ibid*, p. 188.

³ *Congressional Globe*, Second Session, Thirty-third Congress, p. 24.

⁴ Von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, v. V, p. 187.

⁵ Heinzen, *Deutscher Radikalismus in Amerika*, *Neue Folge*, v. 1, p. 55.

ers concerning the historical achievements and the cultural influence of the German element in this country.¹

In order to arrive at a just estimate of the movement against the Germans of 1848, we must remember also that the better classes of Americans had not really learned to know the true character of the German refugees. Their knowledge was confined to the uneducated type of immigrants and even these they did not take the trouble to know thoroughly. Many Americans had forgotten the fact that the social and educational status of their immigrant forefathers had been no better than that of many poor Germans. That the educated German refugees were not known better to the Americans was however to a large extent their own fault.² They had no wish to be Americanized, and in their minds their coming to this country was nothing but a short sojourn until events had shaped themselves for their final return to Germany. It was not until the Know Nothing movement had played itself out, and the Republican Party had begun to assume a more important role in the politics of this country, that the German radicals found themselves, so to speak, and for the first time began to exert a practical influence in national politics. At the convention of the Republican Party in Philadelphia in 1856 the forty-eighters joined the party *en masse*,³ and the various elements which had, until this time, been passing their time in ceaseless bickerings, were at last united in one common cause. The election in 1860 found practically the whole German population on the side of the Republicans, and in the opinion of the leading forty-eighters it was chiefly through the efforts of the Germans that the election was finally decided in favor of the Republican cause.⁴ It is not to be supposed that this transition from German revolutionists in temporary exile to practical American politicians, was an

¹ The most vicious excrescence of this movement was the so-called "rowdies."

² Heinzen, *Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika*, Neue Folge, v. I, p. 159.

³ Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, v. I, p. 318.

⁴ Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, v. I, p. 318.

easy or a rapid one. It was, perhaps, in 1854, that it first began to dawn upon the exiles that they were here to stay and must accordingly adjust themselves to the new conditions. How much it was to their credit, and what supreme evidence it was of their moral and intellectual power that they were able to win for themselves an independent position, and to understand American life as well as they did! But, during these years, German radicalism had been rife, and in September, 1852, had reached its height at the Congress of Wheeling.¹ *The New Rome* was the written expression of the doctrines propounded at this convention.

The radical elements among the German immigrants set themselves to the task of organizing an association of the liberally minded element, in order to bring it under one head. With this end in view, they held yearly assemblies in one or the other of the great cities, to which came delegates from all the various radical and progressive organizations.² At these Congresses there was scarcely any reform or theory which was not propounded, and no burning question which was not very completely discussed.³ To be sure there was much brought forward that was extremely impracticable, but many proposals and resolutions uttered here for the first time, later found a place on the platform of the great political parties.⁴ Everyone was allowed to express his ideas freely, and no matter how extreme or how fantastic, they would all receive consideration. Men like Heinzen, Goepp, Hassaurek, and Theodor Kaufmann took a prominent part in these conventions. It was at a meeting in Cleveland, that Heinzen gave utterance to his famous statement that the President of the United States was nothing less than a king in a dress suit.⁵

¹ Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, v. I, p. 319. Also Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkriege*, p. 110.

² Klauprecht, *Deutsche Chronik in der Geschichte des Ohio-Thales*, p. 187.

³ Mueller, *Aus den Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers*, p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 205.

⁵ Heinzen, *Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika*, *Neue Folge*, v. I, p. 307 et sq.

At one of these assemblies, held in Philadelphia, we have the first inkling of a plan such as was later outlined at the Wheeling Congress. Professor Gottfried Kinkel, of German revolutionary fame, had been sent to this country by the German revolutionary committee in London, for the purpose of collecting money from the German-Americans to aid in the founding of a republic in Germany. He achieved a certain amount of success, which caused the anti-Kinkel faction in the revolutionary party to send to this country for a similar purpose, a certain exile from Baden, Amand Gögg by name.¹ He proposed to revolutionize Germany not so much with the aid of funds collected in this country as by the organization of immigrant associations who were to accomplish the desired result by the intellectual emancipation of the masses. In other words he dreamed of an inner rather than an outer revolution.² But, as funds were desirable in any case, he founded the *German Revolutionary League*, in Philadelphia, immediately upon his arrival in America. The chief purpose of this league was, of course, the intellectual emancipation of which I have already spoken. An equally important consideration was the collection of American gold to aid in the dethronement of European tyrants. At the meeting in Philadelphia, the following resolution was presented:

“That in the opinion of the present congress, every people upon throwing off the yoke of its tyrants ought to demand admission into the league of states free, that is, into the American Union; so that these states may become the nucleus of the political organization of the human family and the starting of the World’s Republic.”³

This resolution was enthusiastically supported by a few of the more radical delegates, but the Congress as a whole, although coinciding with these views, believed that the adoption of the resolution would be injudicious. In spite of the support which Gögg received from many, the majority of

¹ Der Deutsche Pionier, v. VII, p. 118.

² Ibid, v. VIII, p. 91.

³ Poesche and Goepp, The New Rome, p. 99.

the refugees were opposed to the undertaking, for they clearly saw, that to secure help for Germany from America was impossible.¹ In addition to this, it may be added, that Gögg had a much less pleasing personality than Kinkel, and that he was no such persuasive orator. Financial aid, therefore, did not come to him as easily as it had come to Kinkel. It was to stimulate interest in this project that another meeting was called at Wheeling, Virginia, in September, 1852.

This assembly met on the sixteenth of the month and was attended by some sixteen delegates, representatives of 1,112 revolutionary societies, chiefly of the northern states. The spirit of the Congress of Wheeling may best be illustrated by the following extract from the address of Charles Goepp one of the chief speakers of the meeting:²

“We demand the extension of American freedom. A freedom which can be victorious without the aid of American gold or the sacrifice of American lives. Just as Greece had her Trojan war which transformed her from a state of fishermen to a glorious light of civilization, just as the Crusades roused western Europe from the darkness of the middle ages, so America, thanks to the god of war, will, in all probability, have her Iliad, and her Crusades to win for her a place among nations as the center of humanity. A war to extend our institutions is not a war of conquest; for, in as much as the spirit of our government is the principle of self government, or rather of non-government, its expansion does not necessitate the introduction of violence, but rather the abolition of the latter. It is the purpose of our government to restore the sovereignty of the individual by striking off the shackles against which he has striven in vain.

“The American continent divides the ocean as Italy the Mediterranean, and just as ancient Rome overlooked the circle of lands which skirted that inland sea, so the United States shall overlook the whole of the world. The universal empire of the future belongs to them. An empire not of

¹ Heinzen, *Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika*, Neue Folge, v. I, p. 65.

² *Der Deutsche Pionier*, v. VIII, p. 96.

conquest and of subjugation, not of inheritance, not of international frictions and hatreds, but of fraternity, of equality and of freedom. We implore it to fulfill its destiny and out of many worlds create a single one."

This peaceful and at the same time grandly conceived solution of the conflict between the old and the new world which Goepp proposed, was at first received with astonishment by the delegates. Astonishment changed to admiration, and enthusiasm ran high. Goepp's speech was embodied into a pronunciamento apprising the American people of the resolution of the Wheeling Congress to annex the world, and was translated into many languages.¹ Meetings were arranged for in various cities and the title of *The People's League of the Old and the New World* was adopted and universal annexation was decided upon as the program of the league.²

At the time of the adoption of this resolution, it was accepted more or less humorously by a part of the German population, particularly the "Grays," whereas the Americans regarded it as simply an expression of opinion of several cranks.³ With the published appearance of these principles in *The New Rome*, with its scholarly background, the derision abated, and men began to see that after all, the idea was not as fantastic as it had appeared upon first sight. Nor were these ideas by any means new, as was generally supposed at this time; for they had been given utterance only recently by Giuseppe Mazzini, the Italian patriot, in connection with his ideas concerning Young Italy, which crystallized about the conception of a world republic. Mazzini tells us about these ideas in his autobiography as follows:⁴

"At that time, (about 1830), even the immature concep-

¹ Der Deutsche Pionier, v. VIII, p. 93, also Mueller, Aus den Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers, p. 207.

² Poesche and Goepp, The New Rome, p. 100.

³ Kaufmann, Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkriege, p. 105.

⁴ Mazzini, Joseph Mazzini, His Life Writings, and Political Principles, (Ed. Garrison) p. 30 et seq. Mazzini was at this time confined in the prison at Savona, on account of his close connection with the Italian Carbonari. It was here that his first thoughts of Young Italy came to him.

tion (of Young Italy) inspired me with a mighty hope that flashed before my spirit like a star. I saw regenerated Italy becoming with one bound the missionary of a religion of progress and fraternity far greater and vaster than that she gave to humanity in the past.

“The worship of Rome was a part of my being. The great Unity, the One Life of the world had twice been elaborated within her walls. Other peoples, their brief mission fulfilled, disappeared forever. To none save her had it been given twice to guide and direct the world. There, life was eternal, death unknown. There, the Rome of the Republic, concluded by the Caesars, had arisen to consign the former world to oblivion, and borne her eagles over the known world, carrying with them the idea of right, the source of liberty. In later days she had again arisen, . . . and at once constituted herself . . . the accepted center of a New Unity, elevating the law from earth to heaven, and substituting to the idea of right, an idea of duty, a duty common to all men, and, therefore, the source of their equality. Why should not a New Rome, the Rome of the Italian people, portents of whose coming I deemed I saw—arise to create a third and still vaster unity; to link together and harmonize earth and heaven, right and duty; and utter not to individuals but to peoples the great word Association—to make known to free men and equals their mission here below.”

Many of the European exiles and the German radicals, as, for instance Christian Esselen,¹ had come in contact with Mazzini in Switzerland and heard his theories. Karl Heinzen met him later in London and became intimately acquainted with him. It is possible that Theodor Poesche, one of the authors of *The New Rome*, may also have been influenced by him. At any rate, the German reformers, ready to accept a similar program, saw in America a much better cen-

¹ Rattermann, Article on C. Esselen.

ter for such an activity than was offered by the Rome of Mazzini.¹

III.

Before proceeding with an analysis of the principles and doctrines contained in *The New Rome*, a few words concerning the authors may be in place.²

Charles Goepp was born September 4, 1827, at Gnadenfeld in Silesia, where his father taught in the seminary of the Moravians. He received his first schooling at Herrnhut in Saxony to which his parents had moved in 1833. In 1834, however, they emigrated to the United States, remained for a short time in New York, and soon after moved to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where the elder Goepp was for a long time supervisor of the estates of the Moravian church.

From 1837 on, Charles Goepp attended a private school, and in 1841-2 he entered the theological preparatory school of the Moravians. In pursuance of his father's wishes, he next matriculated in the Moravian Seminary of Niesky in the Lau-sitz, but in spite of the excellence of the instruction, the iron discipline was irksome, and two years later he returned to Pennsylvania. From this time on, he devoted himself to the study of Law, in Easton, Pennsylvania, and in the year 1848 entered actively into national politics, supporting the Free Soil candidates. In 1850, he entered into partnership with Joseph Minor and opened law offices in Philadelphia, but the untimely death of his partner two years later, brought this successful venture to a sudden close.

Goepp took a very live interest in the activities of the forty-eighters and was one of the leaders of the radicals at the Wheeling Congress. Like the other German reformers he joined the Republican Party, and was a zealous adherent of Frémont in 1856 and of Lincoln in 1860. After the outbreak of the Civil War, Goepp entered the field as lieutenant of the Easton "Jäger," and was later promoted to Captain

¹ It is difficult to say exactly how close were the relations between the German refugees and the great Italian patriot. But the evidence of the influence of Mazzini's ideals upon these men would lead us to conclude that they were considerable.

² For the facts of Goepp's life I am indebted to Koerner, *Das Deutsche Element*, p. 121 et seq.

and adjutant of the Ninth Pennsylvania volunteers. After three months of service he returned to private life and continued his law work in partnership with his brother Max. In 1863 he joined Friedrich Kapp in his law offices at New York and practiced there until Kapp returned to Germany in 1869. After the death of his wife, in 1870, Goepp traveled for some time in Europe, and following his return he was elected judge of the Marine Court of New York, a position which he very ably filled.

Goepp was in every respect an able and influential man, and his knowledge of both German and English placed him in a position to know and understand both peoples as few at that time were able to know them. His efforts in behalf of the forty-eighters were especially commendable. In addition to *The New Rome* Goepp was the author of a work on parliamentary practice and the translator of numerous German works.

Theodor Poesche,¹ the co-author of *The New Rome*, was born in the town of Zoeschen in Saxony, March 23, 1826. His father was a teacher and had destined his son for the ministry. Poesche accordingly attended the Gymnasium and later the University of Halle. Coming under the influence of the distinguished Professor Arnold Ruge, he was interested in the political movements of the time and actually became the leader of the one day revolt in Halle which was nipped in the bud by the arrival of the regular cavalry. Poesche was forced to flee to South Germany whence he emigrated to England, his presence having been discovered. In England, he joined for a time the colony of revolutionists in London where his friend Ruge was and where he doubtlessly met the celebrated Mazzini.

In 1852 Poesche sailed for New York and after several unsuccessful attempts to secure employment, obtained a position as teacher in a Philadelphia school. It was here that he met his future wife, the daughter of the celebrated revolu-

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Paul J. Pelz of Washington, D. C. for these facts of Poesche's life. Mr. Pelz worked up the biography from Poesche's papers. On account of its intrinsic value I have appended it to the present article.

tionist Eduard Pelz. He was married in 1854, and four years later moved to St. Louis to become the Head Master of a private school there.

The outbreak of the Civil War necessitated the dissolution of the school and Poesche returned to Philadelphia. Shortly afterwards he was appointed statistician in the newly organized Internal Revenue Bureau, which office he filled with distinction until the Democratic administration of Cleveland brought his activity in this department to a close. So great and distinguished was Poesche's service in this Bureau, that on the special request of the German ambassador, he was sent by the government to Germany to confer with Prince Bismarck on statistical matters. Later Poesche was appointed statistician on the Census Bureau. Poesche died on December 27, 1899. His great life work was a study of the Aryans, entitled, *Die Arier*, which appeared 1878.

During the years of the revolution and the great immigration to America, Goepp followed developments in Europe with great eagerness, especially Heinzen's agitation in Germany, and the efforts of the Hungarians to obtain their liberty. The revolutionary movements in Europe inspired him with the idea of making America the center, so to speak, of new revolutions and not alone an asylum for exiles. There should be a republic of peoples, and America was to be the hub of the universe. He set forth these views in a little pamphlet, *E Pluribus Unum*, and later expressed the same doctrines at the Wheeling Congress in 1852, as we have already seen. At the Congress of Philadelphia, he became acquainted with Poesche and with his book *Das Neue Rom*. This work had been written in 1850, but, unfortunately, the manuscript had fallen into the hands of the German police and could not be published.

Shortly after the Congress of Philadelphia, Poesche and Goepp decided to combine their books into one, and early in November, 1852, the work was completed. The first draft of the book was written by Poesche in German. It was then translated into English by Goepp. The first part of the book, which deals with the political phases of the question, was

largely the work of Poesche, whereas the second division, on social organization, was chiefly the result of Goepp's thought.

The New Rome opens with several pertinent arguments as to just why America should be regarded as the center of a world republic, equalling, and at the same time surpassing the ancient empire of Rome. The fact that the United States is in a position to own the whole continent and has command of two oceans, gives her an immense advantage over any other country. According to our two authors, the first step which the United States must take toward the acquisition of a world dominion are to be the annexation of Cuba and Haiti. These island states, at all times turbulent, were constantly requiring intervention on the part of the United States, and the unsuccessful revolution in Cuba in 1851, led by Lopez,¹ the sole purpose of which was to annex Cuba to the United States, seemed to strengthen the general desire that Cuba should be a part of this country. For all practical purposes the prophecy of the two Germans in regard to this island has been verified.

The proposal of our authors of annexing Canada does not seem at all strange to us who are familiar with the much quoted statement of Speaker Champ Clark. Even at that time reciprocity parties were at work in Canada. The United States at that time refused reciprocity, and Mr. Mackenzie, the Canadian statesman, explained this refusal by the fact that our government desired annexation.²

The easy victory of the United States over Mexico, and the acquisition of California, seemed to point the way to further territorial expansion in Central America. Then, as now, the population of these countries was of a low order of civilization and extremely illiterate, but in contrast to present conditions the inhabitants were at that time anxious for American government, and even offered the control of the government to General Winfield Scott, as he himself tells us in a speech made at Sandusky.³ As the two authors express it, a

¹ Koerner, *Memoirs*, v. I, p. 568.

² Poesche and Goepp, *The New Rome*, p. 13, footnote.

³ *Ibid*, p. 18.

mere pronunciamento would have effected the union which, they predict, it will take another war to accomplish. The annexation of the Isthmus, of Hawaii and the settlement of the valley of the Amazon, complete the program to which the United States were to apply themselves in the opinion of our authors. Two of these projects have recently been carried out, while the third still remains to be accomplished.

While this external expansion is going on the authors predict no less an increase within the United States itself. At that time the immigration was as numerous as it was excellent in quality, and the growth of the native population, was equally great. Poesche and Goepp could not foresee, however, the effect of the civil war upon our population; nor could they anticipate the adjustment of affairs in Germany and France, which cut off our immigration from these sources, the checks upon the Chinese immigration and, lastly, race-suicide, all of which have since been instrumental in hindering the rapid growth of the nation.

The New Rome points out,¹ that the chief problems of this predicted rapid growth of the United States will be the formation of a national character. This character will be determined by the character of the immigration to this country. The preponderance of the steadier and better educated Germans will in a large measure be decisive; the Romanic influence, exerting itself almost exclusively in matters of taste, cannot wield the power of the Teutonic element, and, accordingly, must remain passive. The Slavonic element is considered of lesser importance in the development of our national character.

In the problem presented by the amalgamation of the various races the negro loomed up at that time as the most alarming element. It must be remembered, that the negroes were then still enslaved, but *The New Rome* predicts their emancipation in the near future.² This does, of course, not mean the final solution of the problem, and the authors cannot be said to have found a particularly good one. Neither transporta-

¹ Poesche and Goepp, *The New Rome*, p. 56.

² *Ibid*, p. 57.

tion, nor extermination are considered by them worthy of consideration. The crossing of black females with white males is suggested by them as the best solution of the problem, for, by this process, the black females are improved without taint to the white race. The scheme is, of course, entirely impracticable, for it does not provide for the black males. Nevertheless, however absurd or impossible it may seem, to this day no better solution to the question has been proposed, and it still confronts us, though for obvious reasons with far less actual force than in the ante bellum days.

The authors next raise the question whether the people will be satisfied with simply uniting the various peoples on one continent, and whether the unity of all the races will not "call for a unity of the state."¹ "Will not the emigrants," they ask, "who have found under these institutions the goal of their hopes, which they vainly sought at home, determine to extend the shadow of these institutions so as to enable them to return to the lands of their birth and re-establish their social and industrial connections there without resigning the political advantages once secured? Will not their former compatriots determine to share these privileges, without paying for them the price of expatriation?" In the opinion of the authors political freedom and national wealth go hand in hand. Where there is power in the few the many cannot but suffer. Wealth is the offspring of trade. All that is necessary is to make political sovereigns of the European serfs, and the result will be that our trade with them will be as active as that among the Americans is. But if the welfare (i. e. the acquisition of wealth) of Americans and Europeans is the standard of right and justice, then it is the right of both or either to demand perfect freedom of mutual trade. Freedom of trade requires free government. "The people will never stop short of a mutual guaranty of republican governments, but republican government is only the insurance of the sovereignty of the individual, and that is the root and core of the American institutions of 1776 and 1787. The American Union must infederate into its political pale all the countries

¹ Ibid, p. 59.

with which it is brought into social contact. The American Constitution is the political expression of the present phase of human development; it must be coëxistent and coëxtensive with that which it expresses.”¹

The authors are fully aware that their proposition of having the United States “infederate” the countries with which they trade “is as yet everywhere received with horror or with derision.” Strangely enough they believe that the objection to their Utopian plan proceeds chiefly from what they consider a mistaken idea of nationality, which they call “a remnant of Europeanism which is yet imbedded in the American mind.” Nothing will show better the fallacy of the philosophy of cosmopolitanism and its lack of historical appreciation than the method by which the authors proceed to “eradicate” the conception of nationality.

Man’s impulse, they argue, is always fight, his afterthought friendship. Hence the beginnings of human intercourse consisted in fighting. The individual skirmishes continued until some particularly stalwart rowdy, by the terror of his prowess induced two or three others to combine against him. This was the origin of tribes which, of course, fought among each other as the individuals did. From the chiefs of the tribes arose the kings. The latter soon required a capital, a stronghold for themselves and a gathering place for their immediate followers. Together with cities language developed. For “not until men began to build cities, had their contrivances for the exchange of thought attained that degree of uniformity which entitled them to the name of language.”²

Community of language is the well-spring of nationality. “The patriotism of nationality is found to arise in every instance, exactly when a fixed and matured language becomes the medium and the element of a fixed nationality. In the middle ages we have none of it. The empire of Charlemagne knew nothing of France, Germany, Italy, or Spain; the distinctions were then only between ‘Christendom and Heathenness.’ ”

¹ Poesche and Goepp, *The New Rome*, p. 62.

² Poesche and Goepp, *The New Rome*, p. 64 et sq.

"In so far as the growth of nations," they continue, "was the growth of an understanding between people of the same tongue to unite for mutual defence and assistance, it was an advance in the motions of humanity. But, just as isolated individuals gradually became aware of each other's existence, so these fictitious individuals, the nations, were necessarily brought into contact with each other. The result in both cases was the same. They fought until they learned to talk together." ¹

America, however, in the opinion of our authors, occupies a distinctly different position. Nations, they tell us, are unions based upon community of speech. This the Americans have renounced in favor of a union based on a unity of thought. "Thus," they assert, "fell nationality and arose the republic. The native Americans partly have been forced to doff the European part of their title; and they have done wisely. It is the duty of the American party to combat all European traditions which are incompatible with Americanism; above all, that of nationality. To vindicate individualism against nationality, is the office of America. That is, at the same time, the whole force and scope of the revolution; thus, the revolution which arose in and with America, must for ever return to it; and America, which began in revolution, must live in it and end with it. When the dominion of nationality is crushed, and the sovereignty of the individual is attained, everywhere and everyhow, the missions of revolutions and of America will both be accomplished." ²

"Our 'form of government,' " they continue, "miscalled from a fallacious use of European terms, is a system of *non-government*, of the absence of all dictation; and the imposition of non-government is a contradiction in terms. We do not propose to force the Cubans to expell their Captain-General, but to prevent the Captain-General from forcing the Cubans to retain him. We do not compel the Japanese to trade with us, but the Japanese government to abstain from preventing the intercourse of the Japanese with us, if they

¹ Ibid, p. 67 et sq.

² Ibid, p. 71.

think proper to open it. We go behind nationalities to find the people. This is the head and front of our offending; this is what will give to the American Revolution the empire of the world.”¹

The arguments here advanced show how little the authors knew about the historical origin of language and its intimate relation with the make-up of national character. Their dream of a new Rome seems to have carried with it the illusion of a uniform language, such as Latin was during the time of the Roman Empire and the early middle ages; but they forget that the despotic attempt of imposing a uniform language, uniform laws and customs upon the various conquered nationalities was one of the chief causes which brought about the fall of the Roman Empire. “A republic of thought” in which neither nationality nor community of speech, the very essence of nationality, have a place, is a philosophical abstraction born from the systems of Hegel and Feuerbach, of which our authors seem to have had a taste. The extreme individualism which the authors preach as constituting the historical mission of America, is certainly a form of non-government, which, strange to say, is at present again being advocated by certain lawless elements or “interests” in our country.

England, with her immense possessions is presented by Poesche and Goepp as the first power to be annexed under their plan of a world republic. The English at that time had no intention of permanently keeping their colonies. Australia, in particular, appeared as a ready object of annexation in view of the fact that its population was at that time preponderatingly American. This period of American supremacy on the island has long since ceased and the proposal of Poesche and Goepp would today be impossible.

England herself, it is pointed out is diminishing in power and the United States are rapidly superceding her. Two facts, the very serious decrease in the British population, and the bad financial condition of that country, call for reform, and the only effective remedy which our authors see is annexa-

¹ Ibid, p. 74.

tion. India and Africa are to be included, and they are to be won over through the aid of the American traders and consuls. American influence was strong in these countries as well as in Australia, and as it was before the union of Great Britain with India, Poesche and Goepp saw an opportunity for American intervention which was not unjustifiable.¹

Next to England, Germany appears to our authors as the most important country for the Americans. The social and political turmoil of that country called for some immediate remedy. The hope of another revolution had already passed, in as much as the leaders and all the prominent agitators had been exiled. The German immigration and the revolutionary leaders in London were all desirous of seeing intervention by the United States, but intervention alone did not satisfy Poesche and Goepp. Annexation was to them the sole panacea, for only in annexation to the United States did they see a positive guarantee of republicanism. The other Teutonic countries, Holland, Switzerland and Scandinavia are to be annexed at the same time.

Russia and the whole of the Slav nationality appear to our authors as the great rivals of the United States in their project. This empire, corrupt, and decayed to the very core, is held together by the Czar, in whom both the religious and the monarchical elements are combined. The United States, by its activities in the Pacific, is already attacking them in the rear, and the process of Germanization thru which Russia is passing will prove a great aid toward its final annexation; but the greatest struggle of all time will take place between these two competing nations, in which the United States is expected to issue victorious.

Strangely enough, the significance of the control of the Mongolian races is not appreciated by the authors, yet, the present trend of events would indicate that the key to the control of the Pacific rests with these peoples. Conditions in China are pointed out as favorable for a proposal of annexation and republican government. At present, the Chinese

¹ Poesche and Goepp, *The New Rome*, p. 94.

have attained the latter, but the former proposal they would never tolerate.

The absorption of the Romanic races by the United States of the World is also deemed inevitable. These races have long held the suzerainty of Europe, and France, in 1852, appeared as the most powerful obstacle in the way of the world republic, with the sole exception of Russia. Time and again Germanic victory has settled the question between Teutonic and Romanic supremacy, and thus it will be in this case; the Anglo-Germanic World Empire will overwhelm the Gallic rule.

Having finally disposed of the question of annexation, the authors proceed to discuss the social organization of the new state, and trace existing tendencies in their historic development. Poesche and Goepp see in the American tariff system the greatest danger to the expansion of the state not only externally, but also internally.¹ To them it is at once un-American, in denying "vivifying capacity to business," and at the same time is a restraint upon the freedom of the individual and what seemed worst of all to them, a preservative of nationality. As long as distribution remains normally active, the tariff is successful, but no sooner do we have overproduction, a natural phenomenon under this system, than there follows panic. This, our authors assert, will continue until there is a settlement between capital and labor.² On the whole, these financial crises have proved to be invigorating to business, and have invariably been followed by an improved system of intercourse which in turn serves to prevent panics.

There follow here a series of very remarkable prophecies which have either been fulfilled or are on the point of so being. Universal steam navigation, complete telegraph and cable systems which will unite the countries and thus do away with nationality, are predicted. On the heels of such complete intercourse will follow free trade, and after unfettered commerce, will come universal annexation. Such an event will necessitate better means of communication, and

¹ Poesche and Goepp, *The New Rome*, p. 134.

² *Ibid*, p. 139.

the conquest of the air seems to offer the best solution to this problem.¹ How this idea must have been scoffed at in the fifties, we can well imagine, but today we have men like Zeppelin and Wright who are bringing it to fulfillment.

Poesche and Goepp, like the rest of the German reformers, had a goodly streak of modern socialism in their intellectual makeup, and they give evidence of it in several doctrines which they propose. They very earnestly advocate the abolition of feudal tenure, which they contend is the existing system in this country, and the substitution of pure allodial tenure.² Patent rights are to be abolished as being un-democratic, as is imprisonment for debt and the whole system of collecting debts. This latter reform was achieved long ago, but the surrender of patent rights by the American would scarcely be seriously considered by the typical American.

Thruout the entire discussion runs the thought that commercial intercourse is to be the great equalizer and pathfinder for annexation, and by means of it the World Republic will be made possible. The moral obstacles to the scheme of Poesche and Goepp will give way before improved means of intercourse, and the last political obstacles will be removed when the political preponderance of capital over labor is abrogated and the sovereignty of the individual is consummated.³

IV.

Sixty years have elapsed since the doctrines of *The New Rome* were first advanced at the Congress of Wheeling, and it is only by means of the perspective thus gained that we can come to a true conclusion concerning the real value of the schemes so ingeniously propounded. How little the opinions of contemporaries are to be esteemed in political prophecies, we have already seen from the case of the program of Karl Heinzen, whose proposals were condemned by the politicians of his day as wild and impossible of realization, but whose

¹ Ibid, p. 141 et sq.

² Ibid, p. 160 et sq.

³ Ibid, p. 171.

projected reforms are now almost universally being adopted. Thus, in judging the value of *The New Rome*, we must take into consideration not only the influence which it may have exerted at the time, but also the extent to which its prophecies have been verified.

It is indeed difficult to ascertain the meaning of this work for the Germans of this country. Suffice it that, although the "Grays" saluted it with a considerable amount of scorn, the forty-eighters, impregnated as they were with the same general thoughts of the book, saw mirrored in it the expression of their own political ideals.

As far as the realization of the prophecies of the two Germans is concerned, we find ourselves face to face with what is apparently an interesting paradox. We have on the one hand many of the details of the prophecies of Poesche and Goepp fulfilled, but we find on the other hand that the real underlying principle of the book, and the very principle which gives the work an exceptional value, has been overlooked in this country for over half a century. At the same time, however, we notice that it is at present being adopted by the chief reformers of English imperialism, the leaders of the home rule movement in the Great Britain. For it is they who advocate the principle of an empire which is at the same time a democracy. And it is this concept, and not merely the general imperialistic idea of *The New Rome*, which distinguishes the program of Poesche and Goepp from the so-called "Anglo-Saxon Imperialism," which is, in the last analysis, simply an organized system of exploitation of conquered territory. This has been the fundamental policy of the colonial expansion not only of Great Britain, but also of the United States. Let us briefly examine the essential features of this policy.

The English imperialistic idea, as we know it now, was first expressed by Carlyle, in the year 1843, when he advanced the doctrine that a more civilized and a more powerful nation has the right to oppress a weaker people, and that if the inhabitants of a country are unable to secure food and work, it is the duty of the fatherland to obtain such for them, even

by force, in other parts of the earth.¹ But, as he points out in *Chartism*, such a proceeding must be beneficial not only to the conquerors, but also to the conquered, if it is to be permanent.² The problem of overpopulation is to be solved by a well regulated immigration. He also dreams of making London the center of his future commonwealth, just as Mycale was the center of the Ionic movement in ancient Greece.

This doctrine of Carlyle's was for a long time disregarded, economic questions at that time occupying the British people almost exclusively. Indeed the prosperity of a colony was then considered as a sign of its approaching independence, and no effort was made to retain such prosperous colonies.³ During this period Canada was very active in working for its independence. With the rise of Lord Beaconsfield, however, English colonial politics began to assume an entirely different aspect. An imperial tariff, a military law, and a representative assembly in the capital were parts of the program which he endeavored to carry thru. In spite of the fact that his policy was clearly opposed to colonial freedom, he was greatly honored in the colonies, and for the first time the British imperial policy was placed on a firm basis. Seeley, who, in 1883, wrote on the expansion of England, was especially in favor of the assembly of representatives, for, as he said, the history of England is no longer the history of Parliament in Westminster, but is the history of the whole empire, and a system must be established to hold together the loose ends of the vast dominion. The future of England does not depend on India, according to him, but on the union of the English speaking colonies.⁴

The policy of Rhodes, the great imperialist, is too well known to require much discussion; suffice it to say that under his guidance, England reached the height of her imperial development. English influence was extended in South Africa, and the Boer war of 1900, which finally settled the question

¹ Die Grenzboten, vol. LVIII, p. 16.

² Carlyle, *Chartism*, p. 332.

³ Die Grenzboten, vol. LVIII, p. 18.

⁴ Die Grenzboten, vol. LVIII, p. 22.

of British hegemony in this region may be considered the direct consequence of his policies. The English imperial policy, is, as I have said before, in the last analysis, a policy of ruling and exploiting conquered territory. The exponents of this form of imperialism have, of course, surrounded it with a certain mystic and almost religious halo, to serve as a cloak for certain questionable practices under this policy; and the average Englishman, like the Hebrew prophet of old, believes the English race to be the chosen of God to propagate the gospel of "freedom, justice and peace" by means of its imperial policy. As one writer expresses it, "There is but one rule, and Cecil Rhodes is its prophet."¹

England has always looked with alarm upon the colonial growth of other nations, and the territorial expansion of the United States in 1898 caused the English the gravest concern. It is not our intention here to enter into a lengthy discussion of the American imperialistic policy, but simply to indicate the present tendencies. After the close of the Spanish-American war, the American nation found itself for the first time facing the problem of whether they should continue their former policies or discard them and adopt the principles so successfully carried out by Great Britain. The latter course was chosen, and then arose the new and difficult problem as to what was to be the status of these newly acquired lands. It scarcely seemed feasible to put these countries inhabited by a heterogeneous population of natives and Spaniards on the same political footing as the states or even the territories of the union, and it was inevitable that the United States should finally break away from the principles of political equality which had ruled its policies for over a century. The result was as anticipated. In the first case which came up before the Supreme Court, which was the final arbiter of the question, that of *De Lima v. Bidwell*,² it was ruled that upon the cession of Porto Rico to the United States, the island became a part of the United States, and that no duties could be levied until there was legislation to that

¹ Ibid, p. 198.

² 182 U. S. 1; 1901.

effect. The next case, of *Downes v. Bidwell*¹ the court held that Congress could impose discriminating duties upon Porto Rico as it was not a part of the United States within the meaning of the revenue clauses of the constitution of the United States. The newly acquired territories were not to be considered as territories in the generally accepted sense, but as conquered territory in the possession of the United States themselves.

Thus we find that the United States have adopted the Anglo-Saxon imperialistic policy of exploitation and the splendid future of a world republic extending its blessings to all nations, which Poesche and Goepp had dreamed for this country seems more remote and Utopian than ever. As we have already seen, the two forty-eighters had conceived an empire of sovereign states, with a general congress such as actually exists in the United States. But in no wise did their political program even hint at a policy such as the Anglo-Saxon principle of exploitation. The rulings of the Supreme Court seem to have precluded the possibility of our nation ever assuming the role which Poesche and Goepp had hoped it was destined for, lest the people should, after all, realize their error and provide legislation which will turn our future development in the right direction.

How long it will be before the American people do this, it is difficult to say. Certain reformers in Great Britain, on the other hand, have gradually been formulating, during the last decade, a program in many ways not dissimilar to that of Poesche and Goepp. The keynote of this proposed new policy is the formation of a parliament for the *English speaking* peoples of the empire. It is a noteworthy fact that they do not include the huge bulk of subjects who are of other nationalities. This policy, already advocated by Gladstone and Seeley in the earliest home rule agitations has again been forcibly expressed in the recent home rule bill introduced into Parliament on April 13, 1912. The English advocates of this program see in it the sole salvation of the empire and the one

¹ 182 U. S. 284; 1901.

remedy to prevent the gradual disintegration of their vast imperium.¹

In conclusion we may say that *The New Rome* is not only a document of the intense political idealism of the forty-eighters, but also the expression of their mistaken philosophy of abstract cosmopolitanism. No project was too grand for their consideration, or too expansive. But we must not forget that this document was written before Bismarck had taught his countrymen the lesson of realism in politics. The German, as Poesche and Goepp themselves point out, was, at that time, essentially universal in his thoughts and feelings. Suppressed by tyrannical princelings and cast down by the long political disruption of his country, he was obliged to satisfy himself by dreaming of Utopias, grand in conception, but, unfortunately, difficult of attainment. Nevertheless, it is well to remember, that Utopias, both social and political, have had a great influence upon the development of human affairs. What today may appear to be an ideal picture, impossible of realization, may tomorrow be an actual fact. *The New Rome* is such a Utopia, and the last of its kind. It marks a turning point in the history of the forty-eighters who soon afterward broke away from their dreams of a world republic and entered upon a new period of practical activity in this country. For, in spite of the mistaken idealism in which *The New Rome* was written, and in spite of the mistaken conception of nationality, which we may name as the fundamental fallacy of the work, the lofty principle to which *The New Rome* gives utterance, namely that of a democratic imperium, will live as an ideal toward which we must unceasingly strive. To be sure, it is the application of this principle to smaller and more restricted spheres which will give

¹ *The New Rome* is not only to be considered as a forerunner of present day imperialism, but also in many respects as a prophecy of the peace movement which is at present interesting to many of the leaders in political and intellectual life. The union of the world within one harmonious federation, and the abolition of national distinction according to *The New Rome* was calculated to do away with international bickerings, and to abolish war by abolishing its cause. Moreover, the federation of the world was not to be effected by blood and iron, but solely by peaceful methods.

this ideal of Poesche and Goepf's a lasting value. The United States by adopting this principle in its territorial expansion may thereby avoid the error of Great Britain. If present day tendencies are any indication, it would seem that imperial democracy will succeed the essentially vicious principles of Roman Imperialism, and the hopes of Poesche and Goepf may at some future day to a certain extent still be realized.

APPENDIX

THEODOR POESCHE VON PAUL J. PELZ

Theodor Poesche wurde am 23. März 1826 in Zoeschen bei Merseburg, Provinz Sachsen, als ältester Sohn des dortigen Dorfschulmeisters geboren. Er besuchte das Gymnasium zu Halle und später die Universität daselbst.

Er war vom Vater zur Theologie bestimmt und begann auch das Studium derselben, fesselte jedoch bald zur Philosophie um. Er lernte dort Professor Arnold Ruge kennen, der großen Einfluß auf seine geistige Entwicklung hatte; ebenso war G. A. Wislicenus sein Freund.

Unter solchen Einflüssen war es kein Wunder daß der enthusiastische junge Mann sich mit aller Energie und hoher Begeisterung der 1848er politischen Bewegung als sehr tätiger Aufwiegler und Leiter anschloß. Er präsidirte und redete bei öffentlichen Volksversammlungen, dirigierte die Massen, die sich in der politischen Bewegung sammelten, und der 23 jährige Enthusiast war während des einen Tages der Hallischen Revolution gewißlich der Hauptführer der Bewegung. Durch das Erscheinen der regulären Kavallerie wurde jedoch der eintägigen Revolution bald die Spitze abgebrochen, und Poesche fand es doch vorteilhaft am Abend zu verschwinden.

Er wanderte nach Süddeutschland und unterhielt eine Korrespondenz mit seiner Familie durch eine Verwandte in einer anderen Stadt, so daß sein Versteck unbekannt blieb. Als der Boden in Süddeutschland ihm auch zu heiß wurde, entschloß er sich nach England zu gehen, und fand dort bei Arnold Ruge in London, wohin dieser geflüchtet war, eine vorläufige Heimat. England war damals ziemlich voll von flüchtigen Achtundvierzigern und die Vereinigten Staaten schienen besser geeignet eine

Zukunft zu gründen, nachdem jede Hoffnung verschwunden war, daß in Deutschland bald eine freiere Luft wehen würde. Außerdem war Poesche in Preußen angeklagt und zu sechszehn Jahren Gefängnis „in contumaciam“ verurteilt worden.

Arnold Ruge blieb in England und wohnte später in Brighton.

Poesche segelte im Jahre 1852 nach New York, und versuchte dort und in Boston eine Stellung als Lehrer zu erhalten, war jedoch nicht erfolgreich. Besser gelang es ihm in Philadelphia, wo er Beschäftigung als Lehrer in höheren Schulen fand.

Er wurde hier mit dem berühmten Homöopathen Dr. Constantin Haering bekannt und wurde einer der intimen Freunde der Familie. Unter den dort sich versammelnden Besuchern war auch der junge Advokat, Charles Goepf, der Sohn des bekannten Leiters der Herrenhuter Gemeinden, Dr. Goepf, in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Die beiden jungen Leute wurden bald befreundet, und als sie fanden, daß sie beide in Betreff der Zukunft der Vereinigten Staaten gleiche Ansichten hatten, so beschloßen sie, gemeinsam ihren Ideen über die Zukunft dieses Landes durch Publikation eines Buches Ausdruck zu geben und das Resultat war das jetzt gänzlich vergriffene *The New Rome or The United States of the World*, New York, G. B. Putnam & Co., 1853.

Es war auch in Dr. Haerings Haus, wo Poesche seine Frau zuerst traf, die dort mit ihrem Vater, dem 48er Revolutionär und Schlesischen Abgeordneten des Frankfurter Parlamentes, Eduard Pelz, der in New York wohnte, zum Besuch war. Nach einem Jahre wurden die jungen Leute einig und gründeten in Philadelphia einen Haushalt, von wo sie im Jahre 1858 nach St. Louis übersiedelten, wohin Poesche einen Ruf als Vorsteher einer deutschen Privatschule hatte. Unter Anderen befand sich hier auch General Franz Siegel, der damals als Professor fungierte. Als der Bürgerkrieg ausbrach, ging die Schule unter, und Poesche kam wieder nach dem Osten und versuchte New York und Philadelphia, fand jedoch in Washington in dem neu organisierten Internal Revenue Bureau des Schatzamtes als Statistischer Beschäftigung, in welchem Amte er ehrenvoll sich auszeichnete bis die demokratische Administration Cleveland's seiner Tä-

tigkeit ein Ende machte. Später hatte er eine Stellung als Statistiker im Census Bureau inne.

Poesche war ein intimer Freund von Karl Schurz, welcher eine hohe Achtung für ihn hatte und seine Talente und Fähigkeit zu schätzen wußte. Im Internal Revenue Bureau entwickelte sich Poesche als statistischer Expert der Art, daß Graf von Thielmann, der deutsche Botschafter in Washington, die Vereinigten Staaten offiziell ersuchte, ihn nach Berlin zu senden um da mit Fürst Bismarck über statistische Details, über die Deutschland Auskunft wünschte, persönlich zu konferieren, was dann auch geschah. Poesches Zusammenkunft mit dem großen Kanzler war für beide Conferenten sehr befriedigend, und Poesche hatte die Ehre von Bismarck öfters in seine Wohnung eingeladen zu werden. Er fungirte auch bei der Bismarckfeier in Washington, welche in der Concordia Kirche daselbst am 6. November 1898 gehalten wurde, als Präsident.

Das große Lebenswerk Poesches war seine Forschung über das Entstehen und Wachstum des größten aller Menschenstämme, die Arier und dasselbe wurde unter dem Titel: Die Arier, ein Beitrag zur historischen Anthropologie, Jena, Hermann Costenoble, 1878, veröffentlicht. Eine Revision und Weiterführung des Werkes befindet sich in seinem Nachlaß.

Poesche starb nach einem mehrjährigen Magenleiden in Washington am 27ten Dezember 1899.

